WASHINGTON, THURSDAY, MARCH 24, 1853.

landholder the ruin consequent on dealings The National Era is Published Weekly, or wenth Street, opposite Odd Fellows' Hall. with usurers, the Government established an imperial loan bank, which made advances on TERMS. mortgage of lands to the extent of two-thirds Two dollars per annum, payable in advance.
All communications to the Bra, whether on busitess of the paper or for publication, should be adtressed to G. Baller, Washington, D. C. of their value. The borrowers had to pay back, each year, three per cent. interest. If they failed to do this, the Crown returned them the

in consideration that in case of bad har

vests, destruction, disease, &c., the Crown is

bound to supply the strict necessities of its peasants, and to find them in daily bread, in the indispensable stock of cattle and seed corn,

By this arrangement, and in a short time, a

considerable portion of the lands of the Russian

nobility became the property of the State, and

with it a large number of serfs became Crown peasants. This was the first and most import-

peasants. This was the first and most important step towards opening the road to freedom to that majority of the Russian population which consists of slaves.

When in this manner the first ideas of liber-

ty had been awakened in the people, the Em-peror, in the exercise of his own unlimited and

irresponsible power, took a second step, not less

pregnant with consequences than the first. Unable suddenly to grant civil freedom to the

serfs, he bestowed upon them, as a transition stage, certain civil rights. A ukase permitted

Hitherto the serf was recognised by the State

only as a sort of beast in human form. He could hold no property, give no legal evidence, take no oath. No matter how cloquent his speech, he was dumb before the law. He might have treasures in his dwelling, the law knew him only as a pauper. His word and his honor were valueless, compared to those of the vilest freeman. In short, morally he could not be said to aviet. The Emparea Nicheles again.

be said to exist. The Emperor Nicholas gave

to the serfs, that vast majority of his subjects,

the first sensations of moral worth, the first

professed friend of the people can boast to have done more, or yet so much, for so many millions

But the Czar did not rest satisfied with this

Having given the serfs power to hold property,

previously neglected, requited the unwonted care with its richest treasures. By the magic of industry, wretched hovels were transformed

into comfortable dwellings, wildernesses into blooming fields, desolate steppes and deep mo-rasses into productive land; whole communi-ties, lately sunk in poverty, exhibited unmista-

the lord of the soil the money of which he of-

Crown, received in security the land they occu-pied, their own bodies, and the bodies of their wives and children. The nobleman preferred the serfs' loan to the Government's loan, be-

cause, when pay-day came for the annual in-

had lent money to its owner, lacked these funds Pay-day came, the debtor did not pay, but

neither could the serfs produce the one-third of the value of the land, which they must dis-burse to him in order to be free. Thus they lost their capital, and did not gain their free-dom. But Nicholas lived! the father of his sub-

Between the anxious debtor and the still

more anxious creditor now interposed an im-perial ukase, which in such cases opened to

the parishes of serfs the imperial treasury

Mark this; for it is worthy to be noted : the

Russian imperial treasury was opened to the serfs, that they might purchase their freedom!

The Government might have simply released

the creditors from their embarrassment by pay-ing the debtor the one-third still due him, and then land and tenants belong to the State—

taining to the knowledge that without these two great factors of true freedom, no real lib-erty can possibly be durable.

I cherish a steadfast belief that the reader

I cherish a steadfast belief that the reader, who perhaps took up these pages with a previously-formed contrary opinion, will here lay them down in astonishment, if not converted from his views, at least staggered in them; and perhaps will ask why, if the Emperor so earnestly desires the freedom of his people, why he does not—he to whom nothing is impossible, and who has the right as well as the power—confer it upon them by a stroke of his pen, instead of wearily prolonging his work, and spreading it over so many years, to say nothing of the thousand eventualities which may occur to destroy it before it is complete. The answer is plain. The great man who is carrying out this reformation—let us call it by its right name, this peaceful REFORMATION—who is pursuing, by carefully prepared roads, his plans for the abolition of existing abuses, has chosen in his wisdom, which is equal to his love, the longer path, because it is not only the sure one, but the only sure one. In the first

to repair their habitations, and so forth.

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SERFDOM IN RUSSIA.

The following account of Russian Serfdom, and of the efforts of the Emperor Nicholas to bolish it, agrees substantially with that given by Dr. Baird, in his admirable course of Lecures at the Smithsonian Institute. He stated that before any of the measures detailed in the following article were adopted, that the Emeror, in full council of his Ministers, declared is anxious wish to abolish Serfdom. Count Romanzoff told him that the measure was premature, that the minds of the nobles were not prepared for it, and that, appealing as it would to the pecuniary interests and prejudices of the whole class, it would arouse an opposition which the whole power of the Government could not withstand. The same nobleman suggested that the Emperor should leave to his on and successor the accomplishment of the beneficent measure of emancipating his people. The Emperor replied: "I know that my son is actuated by the proper spirit, but I fear he is deficient in the necessary firmness to accomplish the great work. But," said he, reaching plish the great work. But, said he, reaching plish the great work. But, said he, reaching property, but the infinitely higher blessing of a legal recognition of their moral worth as men. forth his arm, "I feel that God has given me the power to perform it, and that it is my duty."

Dr. Baird further stated that the Emperor has taken from the nobles the power of inflictng chastisement upon the serfs at their pleasare, and has regulated the manner and degree their punishment, according to strict rules of law, upon conviction before a magistrate. The fact that Dr. Baird warmly sympathizes

with Kossuth and Mazzini, and freely condemns the intervention of Russia in the Hungarian throb of self-respect, the first perception of the rights and dignity and duty of man! What struggle, adds to the value of his testimony to the general good character of Nicholas and his family, and to his wise and humane legislation

It is worthy of remark, in this conservative age, that Dr. Baird's statements in regard to the liberal and humane policy of Nicholas, exhibited in his efforts to abolish Serfdom, were received with rounds of applause by a Washington public, at the Smithsonian Institute and his condemnation of the same monarch for his injustice to Hungary was received with equal favor, notwithstanding the wry faces of a few "Old Hunkers."

SERFDOM IN RUSSIA, AND THE EMPEROR

Towards the end of 1848, or in the beginning of 1849, Mr. Jerrman, an actor, who had spent three years professionally at St. Petersburgh, published a book on Russia, which was soon after translated into English. Although many extracts from the work have appeared in journals both at home and abroad we will renture nals both at home and abroad, we will venture to offer another to our readers, to show that the Emperor Nichelae, the type in our politic cal meetings of the word tyrant, in its worst sense, like the Devil, is not quite so black as he sometimes painted. We give below Mr.

in Russia! Who denies it? A nation still semi-barbarous, is subjected to semi-barbarous name exist there, as well as classes of men degraded below the proper dignity of man. All this is matter of fact; but the profound genius of the Emperor, who discerns all this, his restless striving to remedy these evils, to reconcile these incongruities—that stamps him, in my cyes, not only as a great sovereign, but also as a true friend of the people.

It is with real gratification that I propose, in

these pages, a true and faithful representation of facts to a prejudice universal in Germany—a prejudice confirmed and strengthened by Germans who have long resided in Russia. It is not my fault if those Germans either were unable to take a clean integration of the strength of the stre unable to take a clear-sighted view of what passed around them, or else measured it with a Germau rule—a mode of measurement of which Russian matters certainly did not admit. The man who rigidly investigates and takes into due consideration the character of the people, the confirmed habits of centuries, and the perils and material disadvantages of the the perils and material disadvantages of the sudden development of free institutions, will not only contemplate with respect and admiration the efforts of the Russian Government for the safe and gradual spread of liberty, but will also, like myself, not hesitate to proclaim the Emperor Nicholas—so often denounced as the deadly for to freedom—the true father of his deadly for the respective from their master, and for this loan (a third only of the value) they mortgaged themselves and their lands to the Crown, paid annually 3 per cent. of the capital, and would thus in about thirty years become

deadly foe to freedom—the true father of his country, earnestly striving to develop and mature the rights of his subjects.

Proofs strike deeper than assertions, and a few of the former may here with propriety be given. Let us first glance at that institution which mostly estranges Russia from civilization—namely, at the institution of Serfdom.

For the female members, of course, there is but one legal path to emancipation—namely, marriage with a freeman. For male serfs, at all times until recently, a military service was the avenue to freedom. Once under the colors, the soldier is free. The freedom of the Russian oldier is not very comprehensive, and the rekind of slavery for another and a milder but when, on the completion of his term man that he receives his discharge, it is as a free man that he returns to his home. In strict regard to truth, I must, however, here observe, that for a long time this road to citizenship led bet few to its enjoyment. The soldier, after completing a period of twenty years' service, was so accustomed to that mode of life, whilst on the other hand, owing to his long disuse of the occupation to which he had been brought up, he saw so little progressed for the occupation of the occupation to which he had been brought up, he saw so little progressed for the occupation of the occupation to which he had been brought up, he saw so little progressed for the occupation of the occupation of the occupation to which he had been brought up. up, he saw so little prospect of carning a living, that in most instances he accepted a second bounty, and recommenced his military career, to which he then clung till death or the hospital received him. Seven years ago, however, the Emperor Nicholas shortened the term of service to cight many a reduction which ever, the Emperor Nicholas shortened the term of service to eight years—a reduction which now annually restores to civil life many thousand free men, who were slaves till they donned the uniform. At the expiration of eight years service, the soldier is still a young man; he can still enjoy his freedom, and found a free family. For this first and important step towards the emancipation of the serf, the Russian people have to thank the Emperor Nicholas.

A not less important disposition, aimed at the same end, and at the same time calculated to avert the total ruin of the Russian nobility.

For the National Era. WHO IS THE BRAVE!

centuries, he is not ripe for it.

BY LUCY LARCOM.

failed to do this, the Crown returned them the instalments already paid, gave them the remaining third of the value of the property, and took possession of the land and its population. This was the first stage of freedom for the serfs. They became Crown peasants, held their dwellings and a bit of land as an hereditary fief from the Crown, and paid annually for the same a sum total of five rubles, (about four shillings) for each male person. Who is the brave? He who would ever the war-banner wave? Who laughs at the sight of the red battle-ground, Where carnage rides rampant, and death-groans r

Who presses, through blood, to the charge with th Nor falters till crushed by the last mortal blow,

four shillings) for each male person—a rent for which, assuredly, in the whole of Germany, the very poorest farm is not to be had; to say noth-Then, triumphing, sinks to a laurel-wreathed grave-

> Yet with the brutes are there brave ones as he Brave is the lion, when roused from his lair: Shielding her cubs, bravely struggles the bear; Brave is the dog when he fights for a bone, Nor yields up his right till the contest is won. Rivals like these must the warrior have. Are they not brave?

Whose strife is for duty, whatever it be; Who, having determined his glorious aim Fulfils it, through poverty, scorning, and shame Who fearlessly grapples with error and wrong, When equity sleeps, and the wicked are strong Low may his roof be, unnoticed his grave, Vot he is brave

He too is brave Who conquers his passions when madly they rave; Who scorns in the silken enthrallment to stay, That pleasure and sloth on his spirit would lay; Who tramples his pride in the dust, and walks on In the pathway that leads where a Saviour has gon His plaudit shall sound o'er eternity's wave; Heaven calls him brave.

For the National Era. WHAT FARMER JOHN THINKS.-NO. 4.

Abijah has so much to say about charity beginning at home, that I tried the other evening to see if we could agree on the meaning of the saying. And somewhat to my surprise I found that, so far as we were able to explain ourselves to each other, we seemed to agree in our principles; but when we came to make an application of those principles, we differed. I have often seen the same thing happen be-I have often seen the same thing happen before; and so, the older I grow, the more fully
do I believe that all men can see the truth
when it is presented naked before them; but
when they are asked to apply it, they either
cannot, or they will not, throw off the prejudices that make them disagree.

I divide all our moral duties into four classes,

he taught them to prize the said property above all in the interest of their freedom. It seems quite like a jest to speak thus of the "tyrant and bloody-minded man;" but I speak in all all subordinate to the great duty of religion our duty to God, or the obligation we should

ness and constant need of the help of others, and we are placed in such relations that we may receive that help.

The second class embraces all the family du-

The second class embraces all the family du-ties. The parent feels a responsibility for a proper watchfulness over his child; the child may at times see it to be his duty to try to lead a wandering parent back to the path of rectitude; the husband and wife ought always to be ready to act as help-meets to each other, to bear each other's burdens, and to support each other in trying to be true to all the dic-tates of conscience. Here again we can easily see a great opening for the reformation of the world; for if every family was under proper control, there would be little need of magis-trates and laws.

trates and laws.

In the third class I place our duties to the terest and instalment, the Crown, if he was not prepared to pay, took possession of his estate, having funds wherewith to pay him the residue of its value. The parish of serfs, which community in which we live. As the indi-vidual and family duties are often neglected, vidual and family duties are often neglected, the families become in their turn the individuals of a great family—a nation, which should enact laws for the good of the whole, and for the protection of the rights of every one of its members. Our duty as members of the nation requires us to use all our influence to correct bad laws, to appoint faithful legislators and magistrates who will so interpret oppressive statutes as to prevent the commission of manifest wrong, and to yield obedience to every law that does not conflict with our own sense of justice. For even governments, like individuals and families, may go astray; and as every man is immediately accountable to his Maker, and to the voice of God in his own conscience, no law can ever justify him in doing what con-

law can ever justify him in doing what con-science forbids.

cience forbids.

In the fourth and last class are the duties of In the fourth and last class are the duties of humanity. Wherever we find suffering, we should sympathize with it; and even if we can give it no further relief, we can often palliate it by the expression of our sympathy. This is the duty of the good Samaritan—to help our "neighbor" whenever it is in our power, whether he be near us or far away, of our own or of a darker hus of our own kinded or a houseless stranger, of our own kindred or a houseless stranger, of our own rank in life or a despised outcast. No man can fully and faithfully perform this great and crowning duty, who is negligent of either of the othera, and it therefore becomes those who seek the good of their fellow men, to be watchful over all their private relations.

I have never seen, and never expect to see, a faultless man—one who does all things when and would thus in about thirty years become free, and proprietors of their land! That they would be able to pay off this third was evident, since to obtain its amount they had still the same resources which enabled them to save same resources which enabled them to save up the two-thirds already paid. Supposing, however, the very worst—that through inevitable misfortunes, such as pestilence, disease of cattle, &c., they were prevented satisfying the rightful claims of the Crown, in that case the Crown paid them back the two-thirds value which they had previously disbursed to their former owner, and they became a parish of Crown peasants, whose lot, compared to their earlier one, was still enviable. But not once in a hundred times do such cases occur, whilst, by the above plan, whole parishes gradually obtain their freedom, not by a sudden and violent change, which could not fail to have evil consequences, but in course of time, after a probation of labor and fugality, and after thus obtaining to the knowledge that without these

faultless man—one who does all things when he should and as he should. I am therefore he should and as he should. I am therefore never willing, because see the I bad, to overlook the good; or because I am pleased with the good, to regard it as an excuse for the bad. I think that every sincere, earnest effort to be true to ourselves, in either of the great paths of duty, deserves praise. Every neglect, when we are satisfied that we have the power of doing good, brings with it the blame of our own conscience, and always deserves, what it often gets, the blame of others. Those who look to the highest duties of humanity, the true reformers, who glow with the holy fire of universal philanthropy, are always marked men, and for that as well as other reasons, they should be careful not to overlook their obligations to themselves, their families, and the society in which they live. But haply there may be grounds for the charge that they see the mote that is in their brother's eye, and behold not the beam which is in their own eye, and the influence of their charity may be thereby weakened.

Such is the very complaint that Abijah makes

weakened.
Such is the very complaint that Abijah makes against some of the Abolitionists, Free-Soilers, Temperance men, and other reformers; and what is quite unfair, as I think, he makes the

ness of guilt; but without that consciousness, imagination.

The moral system tends to lift up the noblest

Slavery can see the evils that are inseparably connected with the institution, more clearly than those who are educated to look upon charge the slaveholder with crime, unless we are sure that he has a like perception. We may, however, fairly accuse him of upholding wrong, and show him the extent of the wrong that he is hourly committing; we may do our best to arouse his sleeping conscience, so that all scaled line was become as really a crime in the state of the wrong that he is hourly committing; we may do our best to arouse his sleeping conscience, so that all scaled line was become as really a crime in the state of the wrong that he is hourly committing; we may do our best to arouse his sleeping conscience, so that slaveholding may become as really a crime in him as it would be in ourselves, and he may feel obliged to form plans for its overthrow; and, for so doing, no man can rightly blame us, however much we may be liable to censure for the neglect of other and perhaps more important duties.

PENNSYLVANIA

It will be remembered that a Mr. Quiggle introduced into the Legislature of this State a bill to allow slaveholders the right of transit through the State with their slaves. This bill was drawn in accordance with a suggestion of Gov. Bigler, in his annual message. Mr. Quiggle claims to be a Democrat, and to represent a Democratic constituency. His district is composed of the counties of Clinton, Centre, Lycoming, and Sullivan. In the latter county, a Democratic County Convention was recently held, the proceedings of which we find in the Sullivan County Democrat. We append a resolution unanimously adopted by the Convention, together with the remarks of several of the speakers:

" Resolved, That the Democracy of Sullivan county look with disapprobation upon the in-troduction of a bill into our Legislature, allow-ing slaveholders to bring with them their slaves into the State, when business or pleasure calls them within the State, as an infringement o the spirit of the Compromise measures, as tending to keep up endless agitation, and as virtually recognising the existence of Slavery upon Pennsylvania soil; and that we recommed to our Senator and Representatives to vote against

any such measure.
"Mr. Linn said he thought the Compromis and bloody-minded man;" but I speak in all seriousness, and the facts are there to prove my words. The serf could not buy his own freedom, but he became free by the patch of soil to which he was linked. To such purchase, the right of contract cleared his road. The lazy Russian, who worked with an ill will towards his master, doing as little as he could for the latter's profit, toiled day and night for his own advantage. Idleness was replaced by the diligent improvement of his farm, brutal slavery. It was virtually an attempt to convert Pennsylvania into a slave State. Slavery rears its grim and ghastly visage, upon all occasions, to frown upon the extension of the area of free-dom, and blight our political policy. The stench of sucrifice to this Mosch was too are arising in the nostrils of the American people. Her priests stand ministering at her altars, and devotees come up every day to worship. The drilled fuglemen in her service are at the cor-ners of the streets and in places of public concourse, showing before their several companies and platoons the lessons they have been taught. We must re-affirm and adhere to the time-hon-

ored principles of the Democratic party, 'Free trade, and 'Free men.'
"Geo. D. Jackson said he was in favor o the resolution. The law, if passed by the Legis-lature, would in effect make our State a slave State. By a pretended residence in Maryland a man could really hold slaves in this State on a pretence of a visit or of business. It would make the southern part of Pennsylvania as much a slave State as Maryland now is. He much a slave State as Maryland now is. He was opposed to any such concession. He thought the shackles ought to fall, the moment a man brought his slave into the State. If the law passed, we had better commence tearing down Independence Hall.

"On motion of A. J. Trout, seconded by

Judge Colley, the resolution passed unani

DEMOCRACY OF SCIENCE .- NO. 26.

writing," is a motto extensively adopted in schools, and destined soon to become universal. It is founded on common sense, and is put in operation by enthusiasm, acting on the combined energy of all the sense of t bined energies of all young spirits. It requires no preparation, to be adopted in any school in the world, but the permission of the teacher. If all children, before entering school, take lessons, with great ardor and success from the book of nature, they may surely continue such lessons, if aided, if not prevented by their teacher. If the ratan is required to prevent drawing exercises in school, such exercises may surely be pur-

A simple request from a teacher to his pupils to make collections for a School Cabinet, never fails to bring such a collection on the next entrance of the pupils into the school-room. A teacher only needs to place before his pupils an apple, pear, peach, plum; a leaf, pitcher, tumbler, cup, inkstand, cube, cone, cylinder, prism, his hand, or almost any object cylinder, prism, his hand, or almost any object in nature or art, requesting them to draw it, to secure a beginning in the useful and elegant and internal dangers and trials.

accomplishment of drawing.

Nature and art, thus combined for juvenile instruction, are the foundation of the great system of productive education. Such productions furnish materials for "SCHOLARS' FAIRS," and scholars' fairs are the entering wedge to a general and stupendous plan of interchanges in works of nature and art. Such interchanges, universally extended, would beat swords' into plowshares, and spears into pruning-hooks.

Between the "productive system" and the "book system" of education there is a wide contrast. The former is NATURAL, PRACTICAL, MORAL; the latter, artificial, theoretical, selfish. The one brings into combined and harmonious action the hand, eye, judgment, taste, imagination, benevolence, conscientiousness, and all the

and who has the right are more as great greaters. It is a complete to the control of the control

often do our brother grievous wrong, even when we think we are doing God service.

We who live far from the direct influences of The one, carried out, would change schoolnergies of the soul to heaven; the selfish system tends to crush those energies to the earth. houses and dwellings into "crystal palaces; the other makes demands for houses of refuge faster than they can be supplied. The path of them as a matter of course, or even as parts of the one is delightful, constantly placing before the Providence of God for which they are in no the traveller a splendid mansion, stored with way accountable. Our perception of those evils would make it a crime in us to do anything to uphold the institution; but we have no right to darkness and gloom, without change, except

LETTERS ON FRANCE -NO. 1.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan., 1852. My DEAR MADAM: A few years ago, an event occurred in one of the greatest kingdoms of Europe, which astonished the world by its thusiasm the friends of human liberty. There were very many who could not find words to express their admirntion for a people which had consummated with so much moderation and heroism the wonder of Revolutions.

The astonishment of the world was in pro portion to the unexpected nature of the event; and the admiration of the friends of liberty in porportion to their ignorance of the causes which led to what it its enemies denominated the catastrophe."

I was among the few who predicted the Revlution of 1848. I suffered from the ridicule of my friends for having pretended to announce what to them was an impossible occurrence. I oresaw nothing more than was actually comfavor of an existing state of things, or whose eyes were not absolutely closed to the future by the conviction of the past successors of the Ulysses" of France.

We err generally in our notions as to the na-ture of revolutions, and we do not always ob-serve with sufficient attention the events which

recede and occasion them. Mere attempts at revolution are but revolts the causes, frequently local. Even Russia has attempted many times to be free, yet she still lies prostrate under the heel of the Czar. The heroic efforts of Poland have availed her nothheroic efforts of Poland have availed her nothing. The more popular and far more enthusiastic struggles of Hungary have equally failed. Enlightened Germany, whose mighty heart has been palpitating for years with indignation at the false promises and mystifications practiced upon her by her princes, is still under the rein of despotism. The fervid Italy, whose capacious mind and vast energies subdued the world; who gave to Europe her knowledge, her world; who gave to Europe her knowledge, her science, and a love for the arts, and yet directs. by unseen channels, its political destinies, lies herself politically annihilated, after centuries spite of numerous efforts at regeneration.

of struggles against combined nations, and in give them the occasion when they might run, without efficient obstacle, the bright career of Liberty? I expect not. You feel they must Liberty? I expect not. You feel they must "tanely" submit. Unhappily, they have no other resource! If man's destinies were in his own hands, and depended upon his own energies, the earth would never have been despotically governed. But the laws which have made men dependent upon each other for beneficent purposes, have been used as a means of subjection; and perhaps it is not too much to subjection; and perhaps it is not too much to subjection; and perhaps it is not too much to subjection; and perhaps it is not too much to subjection; and perhaps it is not too much to subjection; and perhaps it is not too much to subjection; and perhaps it is not too much to subjection; and perhaps it is not too much to subjection; and perhaps it is not too much to subjection; and perhaps it is not too much to subjection; and perhaps it is not too much to subjection; and perhaps it is not too much to subjection; and perhaps it is not too much to subjection; and perhaps it is not too much to subjection; and perhaps it is not too much to subjection; and perhaps it is not too much to subjection; and perhaps it is not too much to subjection; and perhaps it is not too much to subject to p

are submissive or rebellious in proportion to the power they feel within them for self-control. In the middle ages, Italy was a nest of Republics—restless, impatient of control, "passionately fond of liberty," and consequently in perpetual enmity with the freedom-hating Governments of other European nations. By fomenting divisions, by bribery, fraud, and treach-

ry, the latter have manacled her awhile.

France has now long felt her power of self-government, and her periodical revolutions are an evidence of the struggle between the old

and the new principles.

These happy United States made a gallant strike for freedom, and succeeded in their efforts. But through how many risks? The Revolution had well nigh been a mere rebel-Revolution had well nigh been a mere rebel-lion. France aiding and sympathizing, the un-erring rifle, a difficult and thinly-peopled coun-try, and the well-directed energies of a free-dom-loving people, triumphed. England, too, had her glorious revolution: but worse than France, she compromised with her feudal gov-ernors for little more than a mess of pottage. What she has gained since, has not been by fighting, but by a succession of compromises between the middle and upper classes, in which each fancied it found advantages: while at each fancied it found advantages; while at best, the popular gain has hardly been any-thing but a mockery.

In France, the struggle is more advanced.

There, the people—the ever-toiling people—in-tent on the acquisition of their daily bread, have taken advantage of fortune, and made themselves a position in the face of the world, in spite of the arts and duplicities of the edu-

are still enslaved, or have even become re-en-slaved. If we should do so, we should have to

There is nothing so difficult to accomplish as the conquest of Liberty. History proves that in most instances it is the fruit of acci-dent. The famous Athens got rid of her Kings, owing to an insignificant circumstance. The world-renowned Rome would probably have remained an unknown petty kingdom, have remained an unknown petty kingdom, had not Tarquin played so unseemly a prank. And Oh illustrious Brutus! thou hero of schoolboy politicians! thou mightest have descended to thy grave a perfumed old beau, rioting in royal favors, had not a moment of passion knit thy brows, and planted a stern resolve of vengeance (not of liberty) in thine heart!

Fortunately for Rome, for Athens, and other

law, and the tacit submission of good men, is often looked upon as right; and it may even sometimes cease to be criminal, though it can never cease to be wrong. I regard that only as crime, which carries with it the consciousness of guilt; but without that consciousness of guilt.

prejudged and condemned by us!
Switzerland is comparatively free, yet Poland is enslaved. England has an appearance of freedom among her middle class; and yet Germany, with all her aspirations, and after thinself a weak, deluded fanatic, than her a family specified. destinies to be accounted for !

was Catholic. The ancient Grecian and Italian States loved liberty, and yet were Pagan. Each and all of these had learned half the truth, in escaping from the despotisms of Asia. of Europe, which astonished the world by its suddenness and overwhelming nature, terrified despotism, and excited to a pitch of intense enthusiasm the friends of human liberty. Then, and govern himself. The more perfeet the moral government of the individual, the stronger the chances for liberty; and whichever system, Catholic, Protestant, Mahometan, or Pagan, moralizes him, and leaves him free to act and think, gives him the greatest change of independence. But when grown to call himself Don Quiyotte the ways of the charged of the chance of independence of the charged of th est chance of independence. But when grown men submit their minds to other men, as when they were children, under infidel pretexts of superstition, they must expect to make little way, and to lose their mental and moral ener-

gies.
Now, Switzerland felt the hand of tyranny, and rebelled. So it was with Poland, so with England, France, and Germany. But a few thousand men in Switzerland's mountain fastnesses could do the work of a hundred thoung-what was clear to any one not prejudiced sand on the plains of Poland, or in other open countries. And thus she succeeded in gaining and retaining that liberty which others as continually lost again. We know how often Germany has been deceived in her expectaegregiously frightened and hoodwinked into

war-like Germany, like France, now-a-daysand yielded herself blindfold to the silly promises of her tyrants, and implicitly gave credit to all their calumnies.

'Twas then, as it is now, a question of the pocket and of the stomach. "Can one afford every day of their lives? Who around him was to lose so much profit," or wages? Can one not. in their turn and in their way, more or to lose so much profit," or wages? Can one afford to lose so many dinners?

EXTRACTS FROM OUR CORRESPONDENCE.

Spring Creek, Cass co., Ia., Feb. 20, 1853 .-The Free Soil measure is gaining ground rapidly. All the people want in this section of inscribed all over again with the same sins, to country, is light and truth on the question of Slavery—the only question that is now agitating the country. Many of the Whigs have gotten wealth, hold to this world, and secure voted the Whig ticket for the last time and of Cass county giving fity-two for Hale and Julian, as it has done, it will give five hundred yet his mind was too clear and right to deceive

made men dependent upon each other for beneficent purposes, have been used as a means of subjection; and perhaps it is not too much to say, that had man the power to free himself from restraint or oppression whenever he desired it, he would to this day have remained a savage.

There is a time for all things, for nations quite as much as for individuals. When the youth approaches manhood, he becomes restless to throw off the paternal government; he begins to feel his own strength. So it is with the societies into which the world is divided; they are submissive or rebellious in proportion to the power they feel within the societies into which the world is divided; they are submissive or rebellious in proportion to the power they feel within the societies into which the world is divided; they are submissive or rebellious in proportion to the power they feel within the societies into which the world is divided; they are submissive or rebellious in proportion to the power they feel within the societies into which the world is divided; they are submissive or rebellious in proportion to the power they feel within the societies into which the world is divided; they are submissive or rebellious in proportion to the power they feel within the societies into which the world is divided; they are submissive or rebellious in proportion to the power they feel within the societies into which the world is divided; they are submissive or rebellious in proportion to the power they feel within the societies into which the world is divided; they are submissive or rebellious in proportion to the power they feel within the societies into which the world is divided; they are submissive or rebellious in proportion to the power they feel within the societies into which the world is divided; they are submissive or rebellious in proportion to the power they feel within the societies into which the world is divided; they are submissive or rebellious in proportion to the power they feel within the societies into which the societies into whi more supporters to the cause of freedom than any other one thing that has ever been done; and I believe the Black Law of our State will make as many here as the Fugitive Law did. These laws have only to be read and under-

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POWER AND PRINCIPLE. BY EMMA D. E. N. SOUTHWORTH.

Reaction.

Pray Heaven for firmness thy whole soul to bend To this thy purpose—to begin, pursue
With thoughts all fixed and feelings purely kind
Strength to complete, and with delight review,
And grace to give the praise where all is due.

his true position. Nay, he did not fully realize it now. He sat, as one stunned, in the seat into which he had dropped when the door closed behind her. Until now, he had been elevated by a high enthusiasm in his purpose, and supported by a firm faith in her sympathy and cooperation—a faith the strength of which he had not known until it was stricken from him, and he was left weaker than a child.

Why! it really had not seemed so great a sacrifice to resign wealth and position with her by his side—with her approving looks and smiles and words—with her cordial, affectionate concurrence. And how often the picture had glowed before his imagination, as he recalled her kindling cheek and kindling eye and fervent admiration, while reading with him of some heroic deed of self-devotion in another. And when he thought of all that carnest the fires of Smithfield. If you do never! they hold to and defend their cruelty. Others may repent, they never. It would seem that a fatal blindness of sight and hardness of heart fell upon them as a judgment from Heaven for their unnatural sin.

Perhaps you think that the days of martyrdom have been passed ever since the stake and the fagot went into disrepute; and that the spirit of persecution went out with other. And when he thought of all that earnest enthusiasm with himself for its object—forgive him, it was no better than a lover's aspiration, perhaps; but all his soul took fire at the image, and all things seemed easy to do, to be, or to suffer, for such an unspeakable joy! That he should be her Curtius, her Bayard, her Hampden, Sydney, her hero! And until now he had believed this, and had lived and acted under a strange illusion. And if for an instant his faith in her had ever been shaken, it was merely as the Christian believer's trust is shaken, only to strike its roots the deeper after.

Every man is ripe for freedom when he is fresh ful. Wrong that is sanctioned by time, and of responsibility to others. The natural system anywhere on earth—the advantage, if any, him? As a hero or a fanatic? How had she from the hands of nature; after a serfdom of law, and the tacit submission of good men, is directs the choice of reading to books on submust accord also singular advantages for pro- had often fondly prevised-not with a faithful ducing an energetic and enterprising race, loving clasp strengthening his hands-not with possessing, as it does, a magnificent climate, and a physical character of country adapted for a military and naval people.

It may be presumed that these races have about an equal chance of success in any enter- flict-strengthening him for any sacrifice. Oh prise or feeling that may become popular. no, no; far otherwise. She had heard him And yet how unequal the distribution of fa- with repelling hand and averted eye, and scorn And how severely are the unfortunate and loathing and repulsion, that had left him

centuries of struggles, is enslaved. France has false and shallow egotist! There had been an made a great advance, and founded laws and element of worship and of aspiration in his institutions more democratic than any in Europe; yet Italy, the land of republics, the giant stone, upon which he had broken himself in struggler against the effort of feudal Europe vain? He could not bear to think so. He was and barbarism for a thousand years, is at willing to believe himself a fool or a madman length enslaved. Where and how are these so that her image remained undimmed, unspotted, unchanged in its shrine-so that she was When Switzerland gained her freedom, she vas Catholic. The ancient Grecian and Italian States loved liberty, and yet were Pagan.

To believe this, would end the struggle and disturbed family circle, and peace and joy to step ; to call himself Don Quixotte the younger, laugh at the matter, and dismiss it to oblivion. And then, India! This beaut ful, bewildering

Would it be so easy to step from his post, to adjure his principles, to silence his conscience No! Even amid the intoxicating dream of his beautiful India's love, his stern soul answered, No!

He knew that he had not taken a false potion—the Tempter could not persuade him that he had done so. He knew himself to be right. even now, in this hour of bitter trial, would his moral sense be so confused. In his conscience, tions. She was sold in 1815, and in 1848 how the dividing line between right and wrong was too clearly, distinctly, sharply defined, and the very despotism she hated!

We know how gallantly England won her freedom under Cromwell, and how easily she resigned it to Charles II. She was sick of civil for the moral conflict. Admitted that his convictions were those of pure rational duty, why should be sacrifice so much to them? Did others around him do so? Did any one live up to his or her high idea of right? On the contrary, less unjust, selfish, rapacious, oppressive, cruel? And did they not, the best of them, compound for all this, by going to church and confessin themselves "lost and ruined sinners," and r turning with a clean conscience, like a fair

itself so delightfully about this matter. That grace of God which hath appeared unto all grace of God which hath appeared unto all men, taught him that Christ was not the minister of sin—not one who gave out patents conferring impunity in sinning, and signed with his own life-blood—not one who wiped out the sins of the soul, as men sponge out marks from a note-book, to make room for more of the same sort of matter—not one to make his own righteousness the shield for our wilful unrighteousness. In a word he felt and knew

that Christ was not the minister of sin.

This sorely tried and tempted man had made This sorely tried and tempted man had made no professions, had used no cant, but he nevertheless possessed a large portion of natural conscientiousness, and he had a frank, lighthearted manner of doing right, bordering on levity and nonchalance—a manner tending to mislead superficial observers into making too shallow an estimate of the depth and earnestness of his convictions and principles.

All his family from the cold hearted clear-

All his family, from the cold-hearted, clear-headed Clement Sutherland down to the ar-dent and impulsive India, had miscalculated the strength of his character and the firmness of his purpose. And hence the comparative indifference with which they had hitherto received the communication of his intentions. I say comparative indifference; for though indeed the family were much disturbed that he should for a moment entertain such purposes as he had revealed, yet none of them had doubted that the influences which should be brought to bear upon him would compel him to abandon bear upon him would compel him to abandon his project. And thus agitation at this time was calmness, perfect haleyon peace, in comparison with the excitement, the confusion, the chaos, the tremendous storm of indignation, opposition, and persecution, that afterwards arose and hurtled around him. There are no wars so bloody as civil wars; there are no feuds so deadly as family feuds; there are no enemies so bitter, so cruel, so unrelenting, as those of our own blood, when they are enemies! Others may spare but they will aspect mies! Others may spare, but they will never spare! Others may in time become sated with vengeance, but they never! while their victim has one faculty of mind left uncrazed, or one has one faculty of mind left uncrazed, or one heartstring unwrung. Others may in time be touched by some sense of justice; they never! they hold to and defend their cruelty. Others may repent, they never. It would seem that a fatal blindness of sight and hardness of heart fell upon them as a judgment from Heaver for their uncatural sin

that the spirit of persecution went out with the fires of Smithfield. If you do, may you never have more reason for thinking otherwise subject, fearing or disliking to approach it. It is too—too revolting! In real life, evil malignant passion is not really the graceful and dignified and all but too fascinating thing that merely as the Christian believer's trust is shaken, only to strike its roots the deeper after the jar.

But now—oh! this was indeed the bitterness of death! In the first stunned moment after his fall from such a height of confidence and joy, into such a depth of desolation and wretchedness, he could scarcely believe in his misery, far less analyze it and detect its hidden and bitterest element. And this was its bitterest element—the ascertained unworthiness of his findia!—her ulter unworthiness! This was the fing of the adder, struck deep in his was the fing of the adder, struck deep in his heart, and poisoning all his soul!—with what?

With distrust!—distrust of her, of himself, of all men and women! As yet, all this he felt, without acknowledging, nay, without perceiving it. He sat there as one in a trance. And the was aroused by revehological disturb.

He was aroused by revehological disturb.

He was aroused by revehological disturb.